AN ANALYSIS OF THE REFERENCES TO HOUSING AND HOUSING PROBLEMS IN THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK 1874-1943

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Within the last twelve years, positive action in the form of legislation, appropriation of public monies, and organization of administrative machinery has been taken to meet certain needs of large segments of our population. Such action has been taken in connection with the needs of families directly dependent upon agriculture for stabilized incomes and land ownership, with the needs of an increasingly large proportion of older people for security after their earning days are over, with the needs of certain large scale industries for loans in order to maintain full employment, and with the needs of lower income families for decent, safe, and sanitary housing. These action programs which were put into effect during the last twelve years have had their roots in ideas, discussions, and less tangible actions that have been a part of our culture for a much longer period of time. In fact, as social action programs, one of the requisites for their adoption and effectuation was the building up over a period of years of an informed public opinion.

In the field of Old Age Assistance, it is indisputable that our present, though inadequate, program of Social

Security could not have been enacted into state and Federal law if it had not been for the work of the late Abraham Epstein and the American Association for Old Age Security. The Grange and the more enlightened Farmers' Organizations were to a lesser degree than the agriculture magazines responsible for laying the groundwork of our present system of farm loans to farmers and sharecroppers, and government subsidies to farmers who practice soil conservation and crop rotation. Likewise in the field of housing reform, the current program of public housing owes its comparatively meager existence to the groundwork of fact finding that was put down by countless organizations in the country. Not the least active of these organizations has been the National Conference of Social Work. As the generally recognized authoritative body in the field of Social Work in the United States its early recognition of the close relationship between the successful prosecution of a social work program and the housing conditions of the families involved has relieved the protagonists of housing reform of one of the many burdens they have had to carry in developing an informed public opinion.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to analyse the development of this assistance through the life of the conference by a study of the treatment of the subject of housing and

related fields of interest at the annual meetings of the National Conference of Social Work.

The National Conference of Social Work

The organization that is known today as the National Conference of Social Work had its beginnings in 1874 as the National Conference of Charities. In 1885 the name was changed to the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, and in 1917 it assumed the designation by which it has been known ever since. Although the name has been changed, the Conference retains today substantially the same form of organization that it assumed at the first call. The most succinct description of the Conference, its aims and methods, is found in the Social Work Year Book:

> The Conference is strictly a forum for discussion, being forbidden by its constitution to formulate a platform or to engage in any type of social action...The Proceedings of the National Conference, published annually since 1874, include papers selected by an editorial committee from those presented at the general, sectional, and committee sessions.[1]

Method of Procedure and Scope of the Study

In order to find the material analysed in Chapters III, IV, and V, the Proceedings of the Conference from 1874 to 1943 were searched for references to the subject

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1. Kathryn Close, "Conference of Social Work," Social Work Yearbook (1943), pp. 155-56.

of Housing. Even in the early issues of the Proceedings, however, it became apparent that direct references to housing could not be relied upon to give a complete picture of the time and attention devoted by the Conference to the problems of housing. The following is a list of related index items that were referred to in the sixty-nine volumes studied:

Basement Sleeping Rooms
Blighted areas
Children
Cities, Growth of
Dark Rooms
Dwellings
Homes
House
Housing
Negroes
Neighborhood Improvements
Playgrounds
Rents and Rent Collectors
Sanitation
Sanitary Inspection
Slums
Social Improvement
Social Rehabilitation
Tenement Houses
Tuberculosis
Zoning

After 1906 the number of passing references to Housing contained in the discourses on other topics became too numerous to be tabulated and related to the entire study. From that year on, emphasis was put on analysing those addresses made to the Conference on the specific subject of Housing and on the references to Housing that were more than casual.[2]

Each speech on Housing and the important references to housing and related problems of health, morals, welfare, zoning, and recreation were summarized on 3" x 5" cards. In addition to the summary, these cards carried the year of the Conference, the place of meeting, the title of the discourse or name of the Section Meeting, and the name of the speaker. One hundred and nine articles and references were finally selected as the material for this thesis. The task of locating the discussions on housing and related references was simplified for the first years, 1874 to 1906, by the use of a published topical Index[3] of the Proceedings for those years. For the other years the index to each volume was used.

In addition to the papers reported in the Proceedings, there were twenty-five other papers presented on housing and

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2. A complete listing of all articles and references selected from the Proceedings will be found in Appendix A.

3. Cumulative Index--Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections.

related subjects that were not reported in the Proceedings and could not be included in this analysis. These papers were presented as part of the Case Work Section and as the program of a Special Committee on the Social Aspects of housing which functioned in 1935, 1936, 1937, and 1941. They were grouped under the headings of: (1) "The Background and Future of Housing and the Slum Clearance Movement;" (2) "Management of Housing Estates;" (3) "Problems Presented by Assisted Housing;" (4) "Practical Counseling in Housing Projects;" and (5) "What Does the Group Work Process have to Contribute to a Housing Program?"

CHAPTER II

DEVELOPMENT OF HOUSING REFORM IN THE UNITED STATES

Origin of the Housing Problem

Before proceeding with an analysis of the discussions of housing and housing problems presented to the National Conference of Social Work, it might be well to cast a glance at the development of our housing problem and to include a summary of attempts to deal with it so as to furnish a background for an understanding of the questions discussed and the points of view presented. This brief summary will be arranged so as to facilitate a comparison in point of time between what was being accomplished and what was being offered for the information of the Conference members.

The housing problem is important to the individual because much of his time is spent in the home as a child or as an adult. It is in the home that the family centers its biological, social, and administrative functions and the health, comfort, and degree of civilization depend very largely on the quality of the home. The housing problem is important to the community and to the nation because the largest area in the community is used for housing. Residential property provides about half of the real property tax income, and services for these areas consume more

than half of the community income from real property taxes.

The most important function of any community is to build, maintain, and protect its homes and the families within them.[1] The housing problem as we know it today, however, is mainly an urban problem, and therefore most writers on the subject date the modern housing problem from the Industrial Revolution, which began in England early in the eighteenth century.[2] In the United States, the rapid growth of our cities in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first two decades of this century as a result of heavy immigration from other countries and the periodical migration of population from rural to urban areas taxed existing housing facilities and our capacity for increasing those facilities. The result was that before the turn of the century writers were calling attention to the fact that a considerable proportion of our families were finding themselves restricted to housing in slum areas.[3] The means by which we gradually built up our housing problem by acts of omission as well as by acts of commission are ably summarized by

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1. Edith Elmer Wood, Introduction to Housing (Washington, D. C., 1938), pp. ix. x.

2. Dr. B. J. Howde, "Historical Background of Public Housing," Unpublished Training Manual, Pittsburgh Housing Authority (1943), p. 6.

3. Jacob Riis, How the Other Half Lives (New York, 1896).

Edith Elmer Wood as follows:[4]

1. By permitting supposedly temporary makeshift shelter to be put up, usually by the occupant himself, and never requiring its removal.

2. By permitting speculative builders to turn out quantities of shoddy houses for quick sale during periods of rapid expansion, which deteriorate so fast that their owners cannot keep them in decent repair and eventually give up trying.

3. By assuming that Negroes or foreigners, or miners or factory workers, or any other class of human beings, do not rate either plumbing or privacy and erecting for their use long rows of extremely cheap and small window shells of houses in dark or smoky or otherwise unpleasant locations where land costs little.

4. By the action of time, coupled with neglect, on originally good houses.

5. By permitting the continued use of houses whose design violates health requirements unknown at the time they were built.

6. Because changes in the character of a neighborhood making it less desirable as a place of residence caused old residents to move outward to more agreeable sites on the city's outskirts and families of lower incomes to move in. That usually meant dividing up a one-family house for two or three families... Tax assessments rose because of congested use and more intensive use followed because of increased taxes. This is the typical 'nearin' slums, the ring of dry rot surrounding the central business district.

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4. Wood, op.cit., pp. 20-21.

James Ford relates the genesis of slums more closely to individual shortcomings. In discussing the cause of slums he states:[5]

> The personalities involved in the production of slums include, in one way or another, every person in our present and past society. Among these the slum dweller with low standards of maintenance or with an income too small to pay rent for decent quarters is conspicuous. So also is the landlord who lets his property deteriorate because of preoccupations, apathy, inability to finance improvements, or any other reason. Equally involved is the architect who has designed a building unsuited to family use, the contractor whose low standards of construction are incorporated in the building, the city engineer or real estate developer to whom are directly attributable the unfortunate dimensions of the lots and blocks, and the assessor whose appraisals are too high. But back of all this lies a social system which is responsible through poorly thought out educational systems for the ignorance of the slum dweller, landlord, realtor, contractor, architect, and others, and for the high price which material wealth plays in the hierarchy of values of most American citizens. Fundamental among the causes undoubtedly is the misplacement of values which puts the acquisition of wealth ahead of the subtler and more enduring aspects of individual and social welfare.

The operation of the several forces of population growth, industrial expansion, urbanization, with the subjective concomitants mentioned above was gradual and the extent of its effect was not realized generally until the Real Property Inventory of 1934 provided statistics on the dwelling facilities in sixty-four cities that were chosen

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5. James Ford, Slums and Housing (Cambridge, 1936), p. 441.

to represent a cross-section of the United States. This study revealed among other things, that only thirty-seven per cent of our residential structures were in good physical condition; nearly seventeen percent (16.8) of our dwelling units were crowded or worse; thirteen and one-half percent were without private indoor toilet, and one out of every five lacked a bath tub or shower.[6] Other real property inventories followed,[7] and the degree of correspondence between the more recent surveys and those of the original 64 cities is striking.[8]

Along with a realization of the extent of the housing problem came a growing realization of the effect of bad housing on the individual and on the community by way of increased costs for fire and police protection, hospitals, sanitoria, juvenile courts, and lowered tax assessments on depreciated property.[9] James Ford discussed the relationship between Housing and Crime and Housing and Health. After saying that it was difficult to make a categorical

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6. Wood, op.cit., p. 10.

7. These studies are collected in Urban Housing, Works Progress Administration, 1938.

8. For more studies of housing conditions in principal cities of the United States, see: Edith Elmer Wood, Slums and Blighted Areas, U. S. Government Printing Office (Washington, D. C. 1935).

9. Ford, op.cit., Chapters XXV and XVI.

statement that bad housing breeds crime, he added:

> It may, however, still be reasonably argued (1) that bad housing may reduce the physical health of members of the household and thus reduce resistance to temptation and (2) that housing conditions may be directly conducive to contamination of the moral life, overcrowding, discomfort, lack of privacy and improper facilities for home life may drive the members of the family to spend their leisure away from home, which for many inevitably means subjection to another group of unwholesome influences....The crowding of ignorant and badly trained persons in one tenement may result in frequent cases of grudges or quarrels, which sometimes end in a call for the police and the beginning of a record in the criminal court.[10]

Social surveys were made in Cleveland, Ohio; New York City, and Birmingham, Alabama which showed the "contribution" that slum areas were making to the costs of public welfare in the cities concerned. A typical report is contained in the "Preliminary Data from a Consolidated Report on Blighted Areas of Birmingham, Alabama."[11] This report covered nine areas in the city of Birmingham. Some of the figures follow:

11.53 per cent of the population is in the nine areas.

49.87 per cent of the crimes are from this area.

28.57 per cent of illegitimate births are in these areas.

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10. Ford, op.cit., p. 44.

11. Quoted from "Housing Studies Continue," P. W. A. Release No. 52232 (1937).

19.13 per cent of relief cases were in these areas.

22.65 per cent of cases of social diseases were from these areas.

7.56 per cent of the diphtheria cases were from these areas.

The effect of these and similar surveys was to create a stronger public opinion in favor of a permanent program of housing reform in this country--one that would be assisted by public funds and one that would encourage private interests and local governments to participate, not on the basis of sporadic, quasi-philanthropic efforts, but from a realization of the fact that housing reform is made necessary by a great many diverse reasons which call for action to eliminate the causes of bad housing as well as to provide new housing that is safe and sanitary and also within the reach of the masses.

The development of our present public housing program and the scattered privately operated attempts at housing reform may be studied best in three periods: the period prior to 1917; from 1917 to 1933, and 1934 to 1943.

Housing Reform Prior to 1917

In addition to the work that was being done by persons like Jacob Riis, Lawrence Veiller, John Ihlder, Jane Addams, Edith Wood, and others in publicizing the increasing tenement house problems, housing reform in this period

followed three lines of development. First, there was the expression of a recognition of a public obligation by establishing building codes for new housing and setting up minimum standards at which owners were ordered to keep their older housing. In 1866, after considerable agitation, New York City created the Public Health Department. The first recommendation of the Public Health Department was the adoption of a Tenement House Law of 1867. In 1901, New York adopted the New Tenement House Law and established a Tenement Housing Commission. In 1903, the Pennsylvania Legislature adopted the Tenement House Law and applied it to the two cities of Pittsburgh and Scranton. In 1916 the City of New York passed the first Zoning Law in the hope that it would control the future development of the city and protect existing areas from blight by establishing zones for the different types of residential, commercial, and industrial structures.[12]

The second line of attack was characterized by the influence of the Octavia Hill Movement which started in England in 1864 and was brought to this country in 1896. The essence of this movement was the constant supervision of tenants in substandard areas. The buildings were often renovated as a part of the plan. Trained social workers

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12. Hovde, op.cit., Ford, op.cit., Edith Elmer Wood, Recent Trends in American Housing (New York, 1931), Introduction, p. 10 et seq. and Chapter V, p. 114, et. seq.

took care of the details of management and rent collection, and engaged in friendly coöperation with tenants in the solution of their many personal problems. These principles were tried out on the largest scale in Philadelphia, though they were applied also to a lesser degree by a considerable number of limited-dividend companies in the model tenements or other projects. The importance of this development in this country lay in the fact that it emphasized the possibility of renovating existing dwellings and attempted to arrest the growth of the slums by better maintenance of the dwellings by the tenants as well as by the landlords. It is also significant that it pointed the way to a practical use of social work techniques in the management of real estate.[13]

The third approach to the housing problems was through the building of model projects by limited dividend companies. By cutting out speculative profit these companies sought to provide good houses at lower cost. Early examples of limited dividend housing in the United States include the Boston Coöperative Building Company (1871), the Alfred T. White model tenements in Brooklyn (1878-90), the Sanitary Improvement Company (1897) and the Sanitary Housing Company of Washington (1904), the City and Suburban Homes Company of New York (1896), Mr. Schmidlapp's Model Homes Company of

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13. Ford, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 573.

Cincinnati (1911) and a few others.[14]

Housing Reform Between 1917 and 1933

The beginnings made in the field of restrictive legislation were carried forward during this second period and, in addition, there was a growth in permissive legislation which provided state aid for housing. The efforts at special aid were prompted by the acute housing shortages and high rents during and after the first World War. Most of the states did not attempt to provide housing, but simply limited rents. However, Massachusetts in 1917 authorized its Homestead Commission to spend $50,000 in building suburban homes and selling them at cost on long amortization to workers living in congested quarters. In 1921, Wisconsin legislation permitted the city and county of Milwaukee to subscribe to the shares of coöperative housing companies. California created in 1921 a state-operated system of twenty-year mortgage financing for veterans desirous of owning their own homes. New York, in 1920, granted tax exemptions with certain restrictions on new dwellings for sale or rent. In 1922, insurance companies were empowered to purchase land and erect dwellings in New York City for sale or rent, and in 1926, New York passed the first limited-dividend housing law

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14. Wood, op.cit., pp. 11-12.

which also provided for the establishment of a State Housing Board. This Board had broad powers to regulate the housing activities of limited-dividend companies and to collect and publish information about housing in this state.[15]

There was a continuation also, in this period, of private building with the civic and philanthropic purpose of providing model housing in small individual projects within existing cities and in what were called "garden cities." Mariemont, Ohio, was the first attempt to build in America a town in the spirit of the English Garden City. This project was announced in 1923 after fifteen years of planning and preparation. The first unit of 350 houses and apartments was ready for rent in 1924 at rentals ranging from $35.00 to $100.00 a month. The most spectacular undertaking of this type was Radburn, New Jersey, created by the City Housing Corporation of New York, a private investment company. On a tract of land two miles square, an entire new city was constructed for families who were earning $2000.00 or more per year.[16]

Less spectacular was the work of John D. Rockefeller, Julius Rosenwald, and Marshall Field in the crowded areas of New York City and Chicago, and the coöperative housing

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15. Miles Colean (ed.) American Housing, Twentieth Century Fund (New York, 1944); Ford, op.cit., Vol. I, p. 235.

16. Wood, op.cit., p. 156 et.seq.

ventures centering around New York City but permitted also by legislation in Wisconsin since 1919.[17]

However, the real innovation in housing reform in this period was the activity of the Federal government in appropriating money for housing construction as an emergency war measure. Then, as now, it was difficult to create new war industries without creating a demand for housing close to the new industries. Where expansion in payrolls of existing plants had occurred, absenteeism was running high because comfortable housing was not available. In February, 1917, Congress appropriated fifty million dollars, later increased to seventy-five, for housing of workers employed by the Shipping Board. In May, sixty million dollars, later increased by another forty million, was appropriated for the housing of other war workers and was administered by the Department of Labor. The money provided for the Shipping Board was loaned to realty companies incorporated by the Shipping Board which built the houses on land furnished by the realty companies. It was the plan that these companies would ultimately repay the loans to the government and own the housing developments after the government had written off excess war cost. The United States Housing Corporation was created by Congress to handle the money appropriated to the Department of Labor and this corpora-

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17. Wood, op.cit., Chapters 9, 10, 11, and 12.

tion built and administered directly. Extensive housing operations were carried on also by the Ordnance Department.[18]

Since the emergency of war was the genesis of this brief excursion of the government into the field of housing, the financial interests of the government were liquidated as soon as possible after the armistice. Further activity of the Federal Government in this field between the end of the war and 1933 was restricted to the establishment, in 1921, in the Department of Commerce, of two divisions concerned with housing research: the Division of Building and Housing and the Division of Simplified Practice. In 1931, the President called a Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, the report of which is contained in eleven volumes.[19] In 1932 Congress passed the Emergency Relief and Construction Act, which, among other things, empowered the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make loans to state-regulated limited-dividend corporations. At that time, New York State was the only state which had passed suitable legislation and only one project, Knickerbocker Village in lower Manhattan was constructed under this authorization.[20]

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18. For a detailed report of these activities see: Wood, Recent Trends in American Housing, Chapter 1, pp. 66 et. seq.

19. The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership (Washington, D. C. 1932).

20. Colean, op.cit., p. 276.

Housing Reform Since 1933

This period is characterized by the reentry of the government into the field of housing reform by direct construction as an emergency measure and, later, on a permanent basis as a lending agency. In 1933, as a means of providing employment and other forms of relief for the growing number of the unemployed in this country, Congress passed the first National Industrial Recovery Act. This act contained, among other provisions, the following words:

> The Administrator, under the direction of the President, shall include among other things (in the Public Works Program) the following.... (d) construction, reconstruction, alteration or repair under public regulation or control of low-rent housing and slum clearance projects....[21]

These last seventeen words contained the idea that later became America's public housing program. Under this authorization seven limited-dividend projects and forty-nine low rent housing projects were constructed between February, 1934 and November, 1937.[22] In 1937, Congress passed the United States Housing Act which established a permanent

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21. Act of June 16, 1933, 40 U.S.C.A. (Supp.) Chapter 8.

22. Colean, op.cit., p. 276; Nathan Straus, Seven Myths of Housing (New York, 1944); Michael Straus and Talbot Wegg, Housing Comes of Age (New York, 1938); William Ebenstein, The Law of Public Housing (Madison, Wisconsin, 1940).

public housing program for this country based on three principles as outlined by the first Administrator of the program provided for by this Act, Mr. Nathan Straus:

> First, that public housing should be directed toward the provision of adequate housing for those whose need was greatest--that is--families in the lowest income group, living under substandard housing conditions.
>
> Second, that the Federal Government, represented by the United States Housing Authority, should limit its activities to financial aid and technical assistance, and that the actual ownership, construction, and operation of projects should be in the hands of local public housing authorities.
>
> Third, that in order to provide housing at rents low enough for families from the slums, some form of federal subsidy was required and that the subsidy should be in the form of annual contributions rather than capital grants.[23]

In accordance with the provisions of the United States Housing Act, the United States Housing Authority was established and given $800 million to be loaned to local authorities or to be used as annual subsidies to projects in order to keep the rents within the reach of the lowest income families. By March, 1942, the U.S.H.A. had advanced or contracted for $770 million of housing covering 747 projects comprising about 185,000 dwelling units in 548 cities and other political subdivisions.[24]

On the state and local level, the Federal development

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23. Straus, op.cit., p. 22.

24. Colean, op.cit., p. 281.

was complemented by State legislation setting up State Housing Authorities and authorizing the local communities, cities as well as counties, to establish local housing authorities empowered to contract with the U.S.H.A. for loans and subsidies for local housing programs. The number of such local authorities increased from 46 on November first, 1937 to over 600 by the end of 1944. As yet, however, New York State is the only state which has appropriated state money for the assistance of local housing programs.

The administrative organization set up by the U.S.H.A. and other Federal agencies engaged in housing programs,[25] and the working arrangements with the local communities were severely taxed when the need arose again for housing workers in war industries.[26] To meet this emergency, the President consolidated the housing functions of the Federal government into one central bureau--the National Housing Agency--and assigned the duties and obligations of the U.S.H.A. to the Federal Public Housing Authority, a subdivision of the National Housing Agency.[27] In coöperation with the local housing authorities, the National Housing Agency and its constituent branches have been responsible through 1944, for the development

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25. For a complete list of legislation and program see Colean, op.cit.

26. By Executive Order, February 24, 1942.

27. Colean, op.cit., pp. 288-89.

of 753,970 dwelling units of which ninety-one per cent were occupied as of December 31, 1944. This figure includes 132,555 units of permanent low rent housing built, for the most part, by local housing authorities, and 621,415 units of permanent and temporary war housing. Over 165,000 of these war-housing units are permanent family dwellings which, when added to the figures for low-rent housing give a supply of over 300,000 new permanent family dwellings produced in this country in the last ten years with direct and indirect Federal assistance.[28]

Another important development which occurred in this period of housing reform was the emphasis put on surveys of housing conditions which were designed to elicit information on the following:

1. The nature and extent of our housing problem on a national scale. The Real Property Survey of 1934, the National Health Survey, and the Housing Census of 1940 are examples of this type of survey.

2. The relationship of bad housing to crime, delinquency, health, and welfare.[29]

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28. The figures in this section were taken from an unpublished Statistical Report of the National Housing Agency, dated February 3, 1945.

29. For a summary of the findings of these studies see: Wood, Introduction to Housing, (Washington, 1935), and Ford, op.cit.

3. The costs to the municipality and to the nation of bad housing in terms of tax defaults, police and fire protection, health, welfare administration, and crime control.[30]

Finally, there was a continuation during this period of improvement in management of dwellings occupied by low income families. This movement was paced by the extensive management program instituted for the first public housing projects built by the Public Works Administration.

A brief summary is necessarily an incomplete summary. A more thorough study would include more than mention of the mortgage and home-financing activities of the Home Owners Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration and of the work in rural housing done by the Resettlement Administration, the P. W. A. in its three Greenbelt towns, and the United States Housing Authority. The material included in this chapter was selected only for the purpose of providing a background to an understanding of what follows in the next three chapters.

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30. See Straus and Wegg, op.cit., p. 30, and Wood, Slums and Blighted Areas. (Washington, D. C. 1935).

CHAPTER III

ANALYSIS OF CONFERENCE REFERENCES TO HOUSING FROM 1874-1917

Although the Conference, as the National Conference of Charities, began its meetings in 1874 and published proceedings are available from that time, it was not until 1885 that the first reference is made to housing. Between 1885 and 1917 there were fifty-one lectures on housing or important references to housing in discussions of other subjects. These references may be divided for analysis into several groups:

Housing Reform	17
Housing and Health	8
Housing and Child Welfare	8
Housing Management	6
Working Men's Homes	5
Descriptions of Bad Housing	4
Housing in the Smaller Cities	3
	51

The large number of speakers who referred to housing reform as compared with the few who sought to describe existing conditions, may be indicative of the fact that it was taken for granted that social workers did not need to be told that

thousands of families were living in housing unfit for human habitation.

Housing Reform

Beginning in 1888 with a description of a Chicago program for moving families out of basements,[1] the discussion on Housing Reform included reports on housing reforms in Chicago,[2] Boston,[3] New York City,[4] Kansas City,[5] Los Angeles,[6] Charleston, S. C.,[7] Cleveland, Ohio.[8] A report from New York mentioned that an Improved Housing Council had been organized and was addressing itself strictly to the task of erecting model apartment houses in New York City and to providing separate homes in suburban villages for those whose work made it possible for them to live outside the city. It mentioned also that a determined effort to repeal the tenement house law had been defeated.[9] Another report from New York chronicled the progress of the City and Suburban Homes Company, referred to in an earlier report,[8] which had erected two large model tene-

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1. Dr. Edward W. Bemis, Discussion on Charity Organization Proceeding of National Conference of Charities and Corrections,(1888), p. 424.

2. Robert Hamlen, "Housing Reform in Chicago, " Proceedings (1902), pp. 343-50.

3. Alice N. Lincoln, "Housing Reform in Boston," Proceedings (1902,) pp. 355-50.

4. Frank Tucker, "Neighborhood and Civic Improvements" Proceedings (1902), p. 474.

5. J. M. Hanson, "Neighborhood and Civic Improvements," Proceedings (1902), p. 484.

[Continued on next page.]

ments in New York City containing 373 apartments. This Company had built also sixty-six detached and semi-detached houses at Homewood, a suburban settlement near Bath Beach, Brooklyn. These homes were sold on a twenty-year installment plan.

From Rhode Island[10] came a report of the organization of the "Improved Tenement Corporation" which bought up ordinary tenement houses and repaired them before re-renting them. According to this report this venture was proving to be a financial success as well as a means of providing more families with decent dwellings.

The reports from Massachusetts,[11] California,[12] Kentucky,[12] Maryland,[12] and Ohio[11] dealt with the adoption of strengthening of tenement house laws. In California an amendment to the old tenement house law increased the

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[Continued from preceding page.]

6. Charles Bampied, "Housing Awakening Promising," Proceedings (1913), p. 59.
7. Roger N. Baldwin, "The Relation of Commercial Organization to Social Welfare," Proceedings (1913), p. 77.
8. "Reports from States," Proceedings (1896), p. 76.
9. "Reports from States," Proceedings (1896), p. 91.
10. "Reports from States," Proceedings (1901), p. 55.
11. "Reports from States," Proceedings (1901), p. 55.
12. "Reports from States," Proceedings (1911), p. 449.

restrictions on tenement house construction and operation. The report from Kentucky called attention to the passage of a State law to regulate tenement houses and especially to its provisions that the local communities would have to implement that law on the local level by enacting municipal ordinances which would provide for tenement house inspectors. Up to the time the report was made, the city of Louisville was the only Kentucky city which had followed the state's lead. Seven years earlier, Massachusetts had approached its problem of housing by appointing a Commission with power to divide the city of Boston into business and residential districts and limiting the heights of residential buildings to eighty feet and by requiring all multiple dwelling units built thereafter to be fireproof.

That same year Minnesota[13] reported the enactment in Minneapolis and St. Paul of new building codes designed to keep these relatively new cities from repeating the disagreeable experiences of the older cities.

The interest of the Conference in housing reform was not limited to a recital of what was being done to provide better housing in this country. Two speakers emphasized the part that social workers can play in the movement for housing reform. Speaking before the Conference in 1910,

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13. "Reports from States," Proceedings (1904), p. 64.

Lawrence Veiller[14] urged social workers to become more aware of bad housing and convince themselves that something can and should be done about it. He stressed the need for social workers to learn something about national movements and utilize them to bring the national housing problem to the surface. He pointed out how social workers could help also by directing the energies of benevolent people into the right direction by teaching them what needs were basic. Miss Mary E. Richmond[14a] followed in 1911 with the suggestion that social workers increase the sense of individual responsibility in the property owners for regular inspections, maintenance, and repair programs.

Spirited advocacy of radical programs was also made at the Conference. For example, in 1904, speaking at the Portland, Maine, Conference, Graham Taylor[15] urged: (a) The licensing of all tenement house operators; (b) Holding the owners strictly responsible for the improvement of all safety and sanitary regulations of the entire house; and

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14. Lawrence Veiller, "The National Housing Association," Proceedings (1910), p. 222.

14a. Mary E. Richmond, "How Social Workers Can Aid Housing Reform," Proceedings (1911), p. 326.

15. Graham Taylor, "Neighborhood Improvements," Proceedings (1904), p. 491.

(c) Demolition by the municipalities of all substandard houses; and (d) Municipal construction of houses, "that the poor can maintain, but cannot provide." In 1911, Mrs. Albion Fellows[16] contended for concentration on building an informed public opinion on the effects of bad housing on the community. She argued for the enlistment of churches, Y.M.C.A.'s, Anti-Tuberculosis Leagues, Civic Improvement Associations, Labor Unions and Children's Aid Societies in the compilation of factual information on Infant Mortality, crime, and the prevalence of Typhoid and Tuberculosis in slum areas. This information should be correlated with information on the cost to the State of operating state institutions for the defective, the delinquent, and the dependent. Stereopticon slides portraying these comparative figures should be shown to the officials of the Army, the Women's Clubs, and to business men as a practical lesson that slums are costly.

Making the first of many appearances before the Conference[17] in the interests of better housing, John Ihlder in 1912 recommended a unified attack on the problem of getting housing legislation passed. Citizens' committees should

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16. Mrs. Albion Fellows, "How to Get Housing Reform," Proceedings (1904), p. 491.

17. John Ihlder, "The Fight for Better Homes," Proceedings (1912), p. 159.

be organized to collect the necessary information, present it to the legislature and remain on the job until their recommendations are carried out. He pointed out that until 1911 New York City was the only city where housing regulations were enforced and that more cities ought to follow the example set by New York City in organizing a Citizens' Committee with a paid executive to plan and carry through a program of housing reform.[18] And in 1917, Lawson Purdy gave some technical advice about the relationship of land coverage to the development of slums. By regulating the heights of new buildings in relation to the width of the streets and by successive reduction of the percentage of land covered by buildings, the new construction would avoid some of the worst features of the traditional tenement.

Housing and Health

As early as 1895 one of the speakers at the Conference[19] was calling attention to the disastrous effect of bad housing on health.

In 1911, Jacob Riis spoke on "What Bad Housing Means to the Community."[20] He emphasized the number of windowless

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18. Lawson Purdy, "Sources of Public Support for Social Programs," Proceedings (1916), p. 46.

19. Clare de Graffenried, "The Permanent Improvement of Neighborhoods," Proceedings (1895), p. 101.

20. Proceedings, (1911), p. 313.

rooms to be found in the tenements and the extraordinarily high amount of overcrowding found in New York. He mentioned one house that was built for sixteen families and was occupied by forty families. He stated that this congestion and lack of sunlight were causing a tremendous increase in the death rate from tuberculosis. A more direct relationship between the incidence of tuberculosis and the overall unhealthy housing conditions was pointed out by three other speakers in 1899,[21] 1902,[22] and 1905.[23]

Dr. Woods Hutchinson[24] reported that the members of the London County Council had decided that they would build no more modern tenements in blocks for the housing of the poor within the limits of the city proper, but that when they broke up a slum they would wipe it out completely and use the area for parks, streets, open spaces or business buildings. Their plan for the former site occupants was to move them out to the suburbs and install them in clean, new buildings and provide rapid transportation facilities

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21. Dr. George E. Keene, "Municipal Responsibility for the Spread of Tuberculosis," Proceedings (1899), p. 122.

22. Dr. S. A. Knopf, "What Shall We do With the Consumptive Poor?" Proceedings (1902), p. 274.

23. Dr. John Madden, "Minutes and Discussions," Proceedings (1905), p. 587.

24. Dr. Woods Hutchinson, "The Open Air Treatment for Consumptives," Proceedings (1905), p. 252.

and low fares to the city.

Another discussion on the subject of housing and health was concerned with the increased burden bad housing put on the educational program of the visiting nurse.[25] The speaker emphasized the difficulty of providing any kind of educational work in the prevention of disease when society allowed eight members of a family to live in one room and take in boarders besides. The job of teaching cleanliness and self respect is almost impossible under the conditions in which the families who need this type of education are living.

Housing and Child Welfare

Closely related to the discussions on health and housing were the lectures and references to the plight of children who have to grow up under conditions that are just as morally dangerous as they are hazardous physically. At the meeting of the Conference in 1891, John H. Finley[26] described the physical surroundings of the 163,712 children under five years of age who were living in tenement houses in 1890. He spoke of a case where the father, mother, and

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25. Miss Charlotte Ackers, "The Educational Opportunity of the Visiting Nurse in the Prevention of Disease," Proceedings (1906), p. 186.

26. John H. Finley, "The Child Problem in Cities," Proceedings (1891), pp. 125-135.

twelve children were found living in two rooms along with six boarders. Another case of nine persons living in a room ten feet square. In another building the Board of Health found 58 babies and 38 children over five years of age. Other buildings housed 101 adults and 91 children. In another 170 children were crowded into the apartments of the building.

Some of the effects of congestion on children and family life were brought out in 1912 and 1914 by Sherman Kingsley[27] and Miss Sophronisba P. Breckenridge.[28] Mr. Kingsley pointed out that of the 20,000,000 children in school in the larger cities, 69,000 of them were from one to three years behind in their work. At least 1,300,000 had to repeat their school work and because of bad health, 150,000 were taken care of outside their homes. Miss Breckenridge deplored the bad housing conditions that were disastrous to family life and the fact that so many of our families were crowded together on the front, in the middle and on the rear of the lots without space, without privacy, much less dignity or beauty.

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27. Sherman C. Kingsley, "Community Recognition of Children's Rights and Needs," Proceedings (1912), p. 20.

28. Sophronisba P. Breckenridge, "The Family in the Community, but not Yet of the Community," Proceedings (1914), p. 69.

The relationship of bad housing to other social problems was brought out by speakers in 1908[29] and in 1909[30] and 1910.[31] Reference was made to the fact that the overcrowding and consequent lack of space for acceptable forms of recreation were forcing children into delinquency. It was well put by Mrs. Bowen when she said:

> The reason why so many children are brought into the juvenile court is because they are in search of pleasure. Children who live in tenements live in the streets for their fun because none is to be gotten in their home. A boy longs for action and excitement, therefore he drifts into gangs and leads the life of one; further he ventures into well lighted pool-rooms where criminals hang out and he listens to conversations about murders and hold-ups. He frequents cheap theatres. He craves for excitement to the extent of trying out some of these things. The girl who lives in a bad tenement house goes out because her surroundings are too bad for her to bring company into her home. She is bored with her work in the factory, she needs recreation so she gets it in the best way she can, ending up in undesirable hangouts.

To complete the picture of the effects of bad housing on the growth and development of children, Dr. Slingerland[32] spoke on the needs of the rural child. In this

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29. Harriet Fulmer, "The Housing Problem and its Relation to Other Reform Movements," Proceedings (1908), p. 145.

30. Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, "The Delinquent Children of Immigrant Parents," Proceedings (1909), p. 256.

31. Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, "The Need for Recreation," Proceedings (1910), p. 101.

32. Dr. W. H. S. Slingerland, "The Need for Child Welfare Work in Rural Communities," Proceedings (1913), p. 297.

report it was learned that bad housing and congested, unsanitary conditions of living are found in the country hills to be as bad as in the worst tenement slums. Specific mention was made of visits made to one cabin of three rooms that housed six men, five women, and thirteen children under eight years of age and another two-room shack in which five children and five adults were living.

Housing Management

Six of the lectures on housing made to the Conference between 1874 and 1917 dealt directly or indirectly with the maintenance of the dwellings themselves. As was to be expected, the work of Octavia Hill in the management of London slum property came in for a great deal of attention in the earliest reference to management, in 1892,[32a] and again in the last discourse in this period on maintenance, in 1906.[33] Other speakers emphasized the need for stricter enforcement of inspection laws, street cleaning,[34] and for the employment of women[35] as rent collectors.

32a. Mrs. Charles D. Kellogg, "Minutes and Discussions," Proceedings (1892), p. 332.

33. Octavia Hill Association, "Housing Conditions in Philadelphia," Proceedings (1906), p. 367.

34. Marion I. Moore, "Sanitary Oversight of Dwellings," Proceedings (1895), p. 508.

35. Ellen H. Bailey, "The Management of Tenement Houses," Proceedings (1902), pp. 351-55 and "Minutes and Discussions," Proceedings (1904), p. 496.

Working Men's Homes

In one of the first references to housing in the history of the Conference, Alfred T. White[36] made the following comparison between what was being done in England and America for the workingman:

> As cities grow larger housing conditions for the working class grow worse. There is a comparison between the houses built in England and in the United States. England builds and rents to the poorest while here in the United States private owners seek only what they can get out of the renters. Here they are not interested in health improvement, in sun or light; they are interested in building only as an investment.

Mr. White went on to say that the government should be interested first, in domestic privacy, the foundation of morality, and second in sanitary conditions, the mainsprings of health. There should be a good relationship between the landlord or agent and the tenant: A building must not only be made good but it should be kept good. He reported also on one experiment in New York City where houses that used to be dance halls were bought and transformed at small expense into healthy and decent homes.

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36. Alfred T. White, "Better Homes for Workingmen," Proceedings (1885), p. 365.

In 1890 a representative of the Knights of Labor,[37] the forerunner of the American Federation of Labor, appealed to the Conference for consideration of the fact that there were thousands of hard working, honest people who are forced to live in one or two rooms with their families herded together like cattle. No matter how many bad people live in this same environment, there is always a representative group in this body of tenement house populations who lead decent lives and are constantly fighting against fearful odds to keep themselves and their children from the filth and pollution around them.

Descriptions of Bad Housing

The four papers dealing with the description of bad housing that were delivered in this period covered conditions in Cincinnati, Ohio,[38] Pittsburgh,[39] New York City,[40] and San Francisco.[41] An interesting relationship between

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37. James G. Schonfarber, "Charity from the Standpoint of the Knights of Labor," Proceedings (1890), p. 60.

38. C. M. Hubbard, "The Tenement House Problem in Cincinnati," Proceedings (1903), p. 352.

39. Paul N. Kellogg, "The Neighborhood and the Municipality," Proceedings (1909), p. 168.

40. Gaylord S. White, "The Settlement Problem of a Changing Neighborhood," Proceedings (1910), p. 241.

41. Charles W. Bampied, "Report of Special Immigration Survey of the Pacific Coast," Proceedings (1913), p. 58.

the growth of the factory system and the spread of bad housing was worked out by Gaylord White in his discussion of "The Settlement Problem of a Changing World."[40] He said:

> There are various reasons why neighborhoods change for better or for worse. Often a district will improve in desirability for residence purposes. However, more often the conditions of districts go down and they become boarding house or tenement districts. There may be new means of transportations, cutting through of new streets, the building of bridges, opening of parks, and playgrounds, all these changes affect the social condition of a neighborhood. Then there may be industrial changes in a neighborhood. It is thought that factories attract workers as well as workers attract factories.

Housing in the Smaller Cities

Three speakers, beginning as early as 1900,[42] presented to the Conference a view of the bad housing conditions of the smaller cities. The situation in the large cities seemed to affect so many people in one area that there was always a tendency to overlook the larger number of families living in substandard houses in the smaller cities scattered throughout the country. Speaking on the dwellings of the poor in smaller cities, Miss Williams

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40. White, loc.cit.
42. Emily E. Williams, "Dwellings of the Poor in the Smaller Cities," Proceedings (1900) p. 159.

pointed out that the tenement houses in smaller cities were usually crowded together in the worst sections of the old parts of the city. These houses are usually the cast-off residences of the rich families who had built them without sanitary conveniences. These houses continue to be used until they fall apart. The landlords claim they get better rents and better tenants from these buildings. However, on the other side of the picture the Building and Loan societies have made it easier for the workingmen in small cities to own their own homes and the activities of women's clubs and other civic improvement organizations can be more effective when they can be aroused, in small cities than they usually are in the larger cities. But there often remains the job of convincing the authorities in the small towns that slums exist. Many small cities have hidden slums which the citizens of the towns will not admit.[43]

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43. Francis McLean, "Social Problems of the Smaller Cities," Proceedings (1909), p. 109.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE CONFERENCE REFERENCES TO HOUSING BETWEEN 1917 and 1933

In the second period covered by this study speeches and references to housing at the Conference became more frequent. There were thirty-six major references to housing in the seventeen years covered by this division as compared with fifty-one references in the previous 43 years of the Conference's existence. It was not practicable to try to fit the references made during these seventeen years to the same classifications used in the first period since the field of housing, both in its positive aspects of improvements actually made and in its negative aspects as an increasing social problem had broadened considerably with the passing of time and the changes in population and industry brought about by the war. It is significant also, that it was during this period that the National Origins Act of 1924[1] was passed, setting up immigration quotas and cutting down to an even smaller trickle the flow of immigrants to this country that had already been greatly reduced during the first World War.

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1. Act of May 26, 1924.

A workable classification of the references to housing made during this period follows:

Description of Housing Conditions	2
Housing and Health	4
Housing and Child Welfare	5
The Negro Family and Housing	5
Comparison of British and American Housing	2
War and Post War Housing	4
Zoning and City Planning	5
Housing and Housing Reform	7
	36

Description of Housing Conditions

In his third of many appearances before the Conference to speak on some phase of housing and its relation to the social problems of the entire community, John Ihlder[2] called attention to the increasing housing shortages and the consequent danger of a larger number of people accepting lower standards of living. He advised that the shortage amounted to a million and a quarter homes. The shortage was forcing the families to live in doubled up houses or in converted dwellings with inadequate light, ventilation, privacy

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2. John Ihlder, "Extent of the Housing Shortages in the United States," Proceedings (1921), p. 331.

and fire protection. He described this congested condition as leading to, among other things, an increase in the rate of illegitimate births.[3] Another speaker in 1926, in describing the increasing housing problems, emphasized the importance of home ownership in the total picture, recognizing, at the same time, that one of the characteristics of living in large cities was the necessity for living in multiple dwelling units which could not be individually owned by the tenants as compared to the single family owner occupied units that characterized the smaller cities.

Housing and Health

The effect of bad housing on mental health was brought out by Dr. Healey in 1917.[4] The continuing problem of tuberculosis is referred to by Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon in 1918,[5] and James Ford in 1919.[6] In 1926, Harry Hopkins[7] in speaking

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3. Lawson Purdy, "How Much Social Work Can a Community Afford," Proceedings (1926), p. 101.

4. Dr. William Healey, "The Bearings of Psychology on Social Case Work," Proceedings (1917), p. 106.

5. Mrs. Albion Fellows Bacon, "Housing, Its Relation to Social Work," Proceedings (1918), p. 194.

6. James Ford, "Bad Housing and Ill Health," Proceedings (1914), p. 237.

7. Harry Hopkins, "The Place of Social Work in Public Health," Proceedings (1926), p. 224.

of the privies in certain districts of New York City said, "They could not be worse if they had actually been intended to produce disease." Danger to life and limb from accidents due to faulty construction is listed by Ford[6] as one of the hazards of health as well as the danger of chemical gases to the respiratory tract which arises when houses are built too close to factories that throw off noxious fumes, mineral dust, or rust.

Housing and Child Welfare

Closely related to the discussions on housing and health were the references to housing in the lectures on child welfare in urban and rural neighborhoods. The physical effects of bad housing on the child's growth were brought out by C. N. Williams,[8] Neva Deardoff,[9] and Arthur Todd.[10] The spiritual effect on the child's development as a member of the family was referred to by Karl de Schweinitz.[11] To counteract the ever present tendency to think of housing

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8. C. N. Williams, "Principles to be Employed by Child-Caring Organizations in First Contact with Cases," Proceedings (1910), p. 101.

9. Neva R. Deardoff, "Philadelphia as a Provider for Dependent Children," Proceedings (1925), p. 527.

10. Arthur Todd, "The Family as a Factor in Social Evolution," Proceedings (1923), p. 298.

11. Karl De Schweinitz, "Strengthening of Family Life," Proceedings (1923), p. 298.

problems of adults and children only in terms of big cities, Grace Abbott[12] reminded the Conference:

> ....of a homesteading area in a western town that a family of nine persons were living in two rooms. The main dwelling was a one-room framehouse covered with sod. Three children sleep in a dugout twenty-five yards away. In another situation eight persons lived in one room, which was a combination tar paper shack and a dugout. The room is large. At the back are four beds; in the middle is a large cookstove. A table, some chairs, and boxes used as chairs and a shelf of dishes were the furnishings, in the rooms....In Colorado, 27 per cent and in Michigan 40 per cent of the laborers' families lived with two or more persons to the room. Fourteen per cent of the houses in the South are one-room houses....It is common to see three and four beds in one room.

The Negro Family and Housing

During this period four papers were read to the Conference by Negroes on various aspects of life in the Negro community. Another speaker in 1920[13] referred to the work that the Negro church was doing in getting repairs made to the houses and in better maintenance of the houses by the tenants themselves.[14] In 1924 George Haynes

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12. Grace Abbott, "Developing Standards of Rural Child Welfare," Proceedings (1927), p. 27.

13. R. S. Grossley, "The Church and Community Programs," Proceedings (1920), p. 334.

14. George A. Haynes, "Negro Migration, Its Effects on Family and Community Life in the North," Proceedings (1924), p. 71

discussed the plight of Negro families that had come North during the war and who were living in greatly overcrowded houses. The following comprehensive picture sums up the conditions that were described later at greater length by Jesse O. Thomas[14a] and Eugene Kinckle Jones:[15]

> In Buffalo we found Negroes living in houses that had been condemned as not habitable. In Cleveland, where many of the Negroes live in good houses, there are many who live in inadequate and unsanitary districts. In Philadelphia the Housing Association found that only 10.5% of the houses occupied by Negro families were equipped for sanitation, convenience, and comfort, while 28.6% of the houses occupied by the whites were so equipped.

The effects of living in substandard housing on the development of the Negro child and on the Negro family were discussed by E. Franklin Frazier[16] at the Conference meeting in 1926.

Comparison of British and American Housing

Two discussions emphasized the British experience in housing as pointing a way to the United States to solve our housing problem. Lawson Purdy[17] pointed out that the British

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14a. Jesse O. Thomas, "The Effect of Changing Economic Conditions on the Living Standards of Negroes," Proceedings (1928), p. 462.

15. Eugene Kinckle Jones, "The Negro in Community Life," Proceedings (1929), p. 380.

16. E. Franklin Frazier, "Family Life of the Negro in the Small Town," Proceedings (1926), p. 386.

17. Lawson Purdy, "Concerning Development Increment of the Community," Proceedings (1918), p. 202.

had come to realize that makeshift housing arrangements could not be justified even on the basis of war expediency and houses of good construction were assets that could continue to pay dividends after the war. He made a strong bid for a similar intelligent approach to the solution of the housing problems in this country. Dr. Edith Elmer Wood in 1923 contrasted the English working class families who were living in nice cottages with gardens, bath, hardwood floors, electric lights and other modern improvements with the squalid conditions under which our workers were living. She reported that in England a million persons were said to be living in 260,000 of these new houses built with government assistance. She recommended a system of Postal Savings deposits to be loaned out as in Holland at low rates of interest for housing construction.[18]

War and Post War Housing

The lectures on war and post-war housing that were presented to the Conference between 1919 and 1921 were concerned with: (a) the effect of the war on housing; (2) post war housing, and (3) an analysis of government housing built during the war. Speaking on the effect of the war on

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18. Edith Elmer Wood, "Must Working People Live in Frayed-Out Houses?" Proceedings (1923), p. 349.

housing, Mrs. Eva White[19] pointed out that the need for workers in munitions plants and shipyards during the war to have their families with them forced the government to go directly into housing construction. She added that the houses built in this program and later sold to the public were of various sizes and types with consideration having been given to the social needs by providing, in a public square, shops, motion picture houses, social centers, schools, and churches, as well as play space for the children.

John Ihlder,[20] urged that the cities adopt a plan for post-war housing and Thomas Adams[21] gave a picture of Canadian war, and post-war housing plans. The comprehensiveness of these plans may be judged from the following quotation from Mr. Adams' speech:

> Housing in Canada after the war started as a national affair as well as a problem of reconstruction. Just after the war the Federal and provincial governments of Canada met and discussed better housing conditions. Two months later the government granted a loan of $25,000,000 to nine provinces of Canada for new housing. The money was loaned at 5% and will be repayable by them, in most cases, in six monthly installments of principal and interest....The standards of the building to be done are quite general. Land

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19. Mrs. Eva M. White, "War Activities As They Have Affected Housing, Health, and Recreation," Proceedings (1919), p. 498.

20. John Ihlder, "The Social Community in the Light of the New Housing Ideals," Proceedings (1919), p. 467.

21. Thomas Adams, "Housing Development as a Post-war Problem in Canada," Proceedings (1919), p. 244.

> is to be acquired by a speedy method at the lowest cost. Sites shall be properly planned. There shall be proper sewers and water supply provided in advance of building the houses and one-tenth of all areas will be reserved for open space. No more than one eighth of the gross cost per dwelling is to be spent in bare land also certain standards should be applied to the sizes of the rooms, distances between buildings and sanitary conditions. Every house should have a bathroom.

A review and criticism of the government's participation in housing construction was made by James Harlean.[22] He raised the question as to whether or not the government is to continue to take a net loss of a hundred million dollars a year for the next sixty years in order to provide less than the homes we need or should it subsidize the builders and occupants of cottages by a general tax at a time when he claims that high taxation is automatically limiting production of homes.

Zoning and City Planning

During this period five speakers emphasized the need to plan for the whole city in the approach to a solution of the housing problem. John Ihlder speaking to the Conference in 1922[23] and again in 1928,[24] discussed the possibilities of

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22. James Harlean, "Lesson Learned from Government Experience in Housing," Proceedings (1921), p. 312.

23. John Ihlder, "The Housing Situation," Proceedings (1922), p. 278.

24. John Ihlder, "Organization of the Community for City Planning," Proceedings (1928), p. 397.

zoning regulations for preventing the further haphazard growth of cities and consequent increase in abandoned areas. The relationship between city planning and zoning was put as follows:[23]

> City planning seeks to so guide and regulate the development of the community that facilities for carrying on its work and full living may be provided adequately without waste of community resources. It designs a street system which would provide for traffic needs and seeks to relate the permitted development of private property to that street system. Areas where there is heavy industry, areas for trade and commerce, areas for residence, each having their traffic regulations and requirements of their streets....This distributes population and reduces overcrowding by providing means for orderly urban expansion. This keeps up a neighborhood and prevents possible blighting of large areas. City planning deals with the whole physical environment of the community and affects the living and working conditions of the whole community. Zoning plays a big part in city planning. It keeps industry and commerce out of residential districts. City planning has done a lot to stop real estate from having its way in determining the city street system as in the old days.

Edward T. Hartman[25] traced the development of housing laws through three stages: (1) building laws that had to do with the quality of material and with fire protection; (2) housing laws which had to do with lighting, ventilation, and sanitation; and (3) zoning laws which district buildings according to their use. Bernard Newman ascribed the bad

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25. Edward T. Hartman, "What Zoning Is Doing to Improve Housing Facilities," Proceedings (1926), p. 360.

housing conditions to "fatal deficiencies in municipal engineering"[26] and staked his plans for betterment on city planning, zoning, regional planning. He stated that an opportunity for housing betterment existed through improving the environment in which dwellings are erected, on the one hand, and the renovation of deteriorated central areas through the opening of more traffic ways and the provision of more open spaces, on the other hand.

Louis Brownlow[27] reported on the development of Radburn, New Jersey, a garden city that had been planned from the very beginning as a complete entity. A project of the City Housing Corporation of New York City, a limited-dividend company, Radburn was built for skilled workers in the garment trade of New York City who could afford to live away from their work. However, plans for the city included an industrial area to which it was hoped some industries could be transferred from contested urban areas. Radburn is noted also for its innovations in street and building site planning in which pedestrian and motor vehicle traffic are assigned separate arteries that never meet or cross.

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26. Bernard Newman, "Is the Movement for Better Housing Making Progress in America?" Proceedings (1928), p. 168.

27. Louis Brownlow, "Creating a Community as a Real Estate Operation," Proceedings (1930), p. 364.

Housing and Housing Reform

Closely related to the discussions in the last group were the seven references to ways and means of providing better housing. Beginning in 1919, Fred C. Feld[28] gave a description of "Yorkship," a section of Camden, New Jersey, where, in connection with the housing development, the town had been provided with a building to contain a gymnasium, space for meeting rooms, shower baths, and other facilities for clubs. The plan was to organize tenants into a community club where they would pay initiation fees and dues. This would enable the tenant to assume responsibility for work in many clubs and organizations of tenants. The management of this project is guided by a belief that if the tenants are given a hand in running their affairs in the project, they will not be anxious to move out. By maintaining a stable tenant population, the costs of turnover would be reduced. Bleecker Marquette[29] complained of the absence of housing reform during the post war years and an aggravation of the problem by an increasing shortage that extended to middle income families. A combination of high building costs and high carrying charges on the installment plan of buying homes had put the few houses that were being built in the luxury class. As a ray of light

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28. Fred C. Feld, "Management of Wage Earners' Dwellings," Proceedings (1919), p. 468.

29. Bleecker Marquette, "The Human Side of Housing," Proceedings (1923), p. 344.

on the dark horizon, Mr. Marquette told of plans for the Mariemont Settlement which was being planned for Cincinnati. It would consist of well-planned and well constructed homes in various price ranges to take care of people in different income levels. The houses were to include both detached single family houses and row houses connected by party walls. Community facilities like club rooms and other common-use buildings would be provided as well as playgrounds for the children. Transportation would be made available for the tenants.

Five years later Henry Wright[30] was very pessimistic about the possibility of making any progress in the low cost housing field. He viewed with alarm the tendency to build into cheap houses fancy frills in order to hide basic construction defects and also the failure to consider that the maintenance of a house after it was built was a problem for serious consideration. The speculative nature of low cost housing that was being built which made financing and marketing costs fifty per cent of the total costs was said to make it the most wasteful kind of housing.

More emphasis was put on proper maintenance as an important element of housing reform by John Ihlder in 1930.[31]

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30. Henry Wright, "Is the Low Cost Housing a Myth?" Proceedings (1928), p. 161.

31. John Ihlder, "Housing as a Factor in Social Development," Proceedings (1930), p. 358.

He proposed the adoption of minimum legal standards below which no house should be permitted to fall. These standards should be applied to all the houses since the houses occupied by the rich today become the dwellings of the poor tomorrow. As a second approach to the problem he advocated the construction of new housing enterprises--the erection of model tenement houses. However, the enterprises that had been put up so far had not accomplished very much since they were a scattered few compared to the need for a great many. Often the problem had been made more complicated by the tendency to build vertically in order to accommodate more people on small blocks of land instead of encouraging decentralization and more horizontal spread. Another objection to the modern tenement built by philanthropists and others under the New York State Housing Law enacted in 1926 was that the rents were too high to permit the low-income families to occupy them, so that there were increasing vacancies in these new houses on the one hand, and a shortage of housing for low-income groups on the other.

Speaking in 1933 on the subject of the "New Leisure" Clarence Arthur Perry[32] raised the question of the value of all the scientific improvements of the machine age if we can not use them to provide more wholesome ways of using leisure

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32. Clarence Arthur Perry, "Can the City be Adpated to the New Leisure?" Proceedings (1933), p. 389.

time. He asked, for example, why must we go away from home to find parks and playgrounds? Why couldn't they be built as part of housing developments similar to a proposed plan which he described as follows:

> The district selected was in the Borough of Queens, New York, conveniently located to Broadway and Pennsylvania Station. An old elementary school was also located in the district. The plan was to have play areas and landscape courts. In the low cost plan the recreation space would amount to 9.15 acres or 22% of the 41 acres covered by the development. In the high cost plan, one-fifth of the whole area was to be devoted to play areas. As to the garden-courts which enable the sunlight and sky shine to reach the ground floor units--such open space reaches 32% of the area in the low cost plans and over 27% in the other. In both plans all units secured sunlight during a large portion of the day. Both plans provided convenient shopping districts at the point where most residents would go. The business zones are so located in the layout that they could never expand and exert a blighting effect upon the residential area. This plan is to meet the needs of those with normal means. In the lost cost plan the rent would be $10.00 per room per month and it would be $21--per month in the high cost plan.

The need for correcting the bad condition of an oversupply of buildings for middle and upper income groups and the tremendous shortage of homes for the low income groups was brought to the attention of the Conference by William Biddle[33] in 1933. He reported that the President's Committee

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33. William Biddle, "Social Aspects of Large Scale Housing," Proceedings (1933), p. 426.

on Low-Cost Housing had agreed that adequate dwellings for the low-income groups could be erected only by the use of public subsidies, local or federal. The Committee felt that in the nation there was a growing recognition of the fact that adequate housing for the greater part of the population was a social problem and a social welfare function. He explained to the Conference the provisions of the National Recovery Act which had just been passed permitted the President to allocate Federal funds for low-cost housing and slum eliminations. The money was to be made available both in the form of long time loans and as outright grants up to thirty per cent of the cost of labor and materials. He added also that these expenditures would be made for the double purpose of replacing slums with decent housing and stimulating private industry and local capital to do something about the housing needs of the country.

In the light of what has been done in public housing since 1933, it is well to quote in full some of the recommendations read to the Conference by Mr. Biddle from the report of a Cleveland Committee on Social Aspects of Housing:

> First it is hoped that such developments would give a stimulus to industry which would be of great value in speeding up the wheels of business. Second, it is hoped that blighted areas in many great cities might be eliminated along with the great social problems of disease, ignorance, and crime that bad housing seems to breed....Any program of housing in Cleveland

would be a social welfare function. It should meet the desirable end of stimulating business. Furthermore, the program should include actual rehousing of the lower income groups. The building of the new houses should improve the community life economically and socially. There should be careful exploration of blighted areas and undeveloped land on the outskirts of the city and semi-rural areas as indicated. There should be a continuous planning of housing facilities in relationship to industrial areas, shopping centers, parks, transportation, and sanitary facilities....There should be a public housing authority in the city itself, as a public corporation to study the housing needs of the community also to purchase land to construct and operate dwellings upon the land. It should be a non-profit organization. It should be able to obtain loans and grants of money or materials from public or private sources. It should cooperate with social welfare and educational agencies in the community. The public housing authority should have a flexible policy as to rents making it possible for people with very low incomes to live in the project. It should be a social planning body providing the basis for good sound health and clean living for the population.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF CONFERENCE REFERENCES TO HOUSING BETWEEN 1934 and 1943

A much smaller number of papers on housing and references to housing were submitted during the period since 1933, even though that period covers the years of greatest activity in housing reform in this country. Whether the decline in the number of papers was due to the fact that something was actually being done about the problem or whether the other social problems aggravated by the depression were of more pressing moment is a subject for speculation. However, there was no decrease in the number of approaches to the housing problem or the fervor with which the Conference was exhorted to become and remain aware of what bad housing meant to the total welfare picture.

The twenty-four papers and references to housing presented to the Conference during this period may be classified as follows:

Description of Housing Conditions	5
Rural Housing	3
Housing and Health	3

Housing Management	4
Negro Families and Housing	3
Housing Reform	6
	24

Description of Housing Conditions

In noticeable departure from the earlier papers that were primarily descriptions of bad housing conditions in general, the five papers in this period that could be so classified are concerned with specific localities or unusual conditions. The first is a description of the effect of the Louisville flood on the local welfare and social program.[1] Owing to the destruction caused by the flood, the vacancy rate had been reduced from 8.7% to 1.8% and rents had increased as much as thirty percent. On the other hand the flood had made necessary the temporary evacuation of all families from a site that was totally unsuited for residence and it was planned to make the evacuation permanent and turn the area into much needed park and play space.

Another special situation was the result of the westward migration of the dispossessed families from the

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1. Neville Miller, "Effect of the Flood Upon the Municipal Social and Welfare Program," Proceedings (1937), p. 44.

Dust Bowl to the West Coast area.[2] This mass migration was so large that it completely flooded the labor market, and housing facilities were non-existent for those who were unemployed and very limited for a great many in the employer camps. The workers tried to provide shelter for themselves as best they could. Camps and hobo jungles grew up along creeks and irrigation canals or by the roadside. Shelters were made of scraps of wood, metal, paper cartons, old canvas, or any other material that would hold together. The more fortunate occupied tents. Sanitary facilities were often entirely lacking. No provisions were made for laundering, for bathing, or for garbage disposal. Water was used from ditches which had been contaminated by garbage or human excreta, and this condition caused typhoid fever, dysentery and other gastro-intestinal diseases not only among the migrant workers but also among the permanent residents of the communities. Later on, the Farm Security Administration provided temporary housing units in camps with all sanitary conveniences.

The other three lectures in this group discussed the effect of the war on the general housing situation and in specific areas of war connected industrial activity. In

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2. Karl Schaupp, "Medical Care Experience of the Farm Security Administrations in California," Proceedings (1941), p. 494.

discussing the impact of war on social sources Donald Howard[3] points out how the war had aggravated the already bad housing shortage. Adults as well as children were being put into institutions like detention homes because there was no space elsewhere. Shelby Harrison[4] emphasized that war production was being hampered because workers were refusing to take jobs where bad housing conditions existed. The year before Jonathan Daniels[5] had described how really terrible the housing conditions were at the camps and in the boom towns that were springing up around the defense industries.

Rural Housing

Speaking to the Conference in 1934, Harry Hopkins[6] said that more emphasis should be put on vacant land as a means of solving the housing problem. By providing more families with land on which to build their own homes and by adding school houses and proper transportation and recreational facilities in the rural areas, it would relieve the

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3. Mr. Donald Howard, "Impact of War Upon the Social Services," Proceedings (1942), p. 297.

4. Shelby Harrison, "Attacking on Social Work's Three Fronts," Proceedings (1942), p. 7.

5. Jonathan Daniels, "National Defense and the Health and Welfare Services," Proceedings (1941), p. 91.

6. Harry Hopkins "Social Planning for the Future," Proceedings (1934), p. 77.

pressure on the cities by reducing migration from the farm and actually reverse the trend.[7] Miss Esther Twente and Dr. Charles S. Johnson[8] spoke on housing conditions in the rural South.

Health and Housing

In this group of lectures there is a radical departure from the discussions on housing and health heard in the past. All three speakers on this subject addressed themselves to the subject of better health from better housing. In 1935 Miss May Lumsden[9] reported on a study made in Manchester, England, which compared children living in a housing development with other children of the same age. Over an eighteen month period the children in the new housing had gained more in height and weight than the children in congested city areas.[10] Haven Emerson warned against expecting too much from better housing if better housing did not stop room overcrowding and if better ways were not found to provide better nutrition for young children and job security for adults. He correctly pointed

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7. Miss Esther Twente, "Social Case Work Practice in Local Communities," Proceedings (1942), p. 124.

8. Dr. Charles S. Johnson, "The South's Human Resources," Proceedings (1942), p. 99.

9. May Lumsden, "Health and New Housing," Proceedings (1936), p. 562.

10. Haven Emerson, "Health Benefits to be Expected from Better Housing," Proceedings (1936), p. 569.

out that housing is only one factor in the total health picture and within the problem of housing itself there were many causes of ill health that would not be automatically removed by the substitution of new housing for old.

John C. Leukhardt[11] reported the findings of the National Health Survey which showed that the amount of illness increases definitely as the degree of overcrowding increases and that this correlation is especially notable in the "contact" diseases such as pneumonia and tuberculosis. A similar connection was found between lack of sanitary facilities and the incidence of communicable digestive diseases. Home accidents tended to increase as the rental rates or sale values of the home decreases. These correlations pointed to potentialities in the current housing programs for bringing about health and social benefits far in excess of those that should accrue from better physical housing alone. The speaker also contributed the thought that health officials are keenly aware of the opportunities that exist in the housing field for the advancement of their basic objectives and they are taking active steps through which improvement in housing conditions may be encouraged.

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11. John C. Leukhardt, "Better Housing as a Health Resource," Proceedings (1941), p. 485.

Housing Management

The possibility that public housing, state or federal, would develop a new type of tenant-landlord relationship was discussed by Russell Kurtz[12] in 1935. This new relationship would be characterized by a social consideration not present in the ordinary rental relationship. He recommended that Housing Managers be required to have case work training in preparation for their jobs. Richard Voell[13] spoke on the proposed plans for the operation of the first group of Federal Housing projects. He stressed the need for local support of these first projects even after they were put in operation.

Clarence A Perry[14] and Jean Coman[15] spoke on the possibilities, under wise management, of the development in housing projects of community living and community spirit. By taking the growing children out of their former environment and putting them in new projects, they would become community conscious through taking part in the clubs and using

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12. Russell Kurtz, "Social Case Work in a National Program of Social Security," Proceedings (1935), p. 229.

13. Richard Voell, "Who is to Operate P.W.A. Housing?" Proceedings (1935), p. 649.

14. Clarence A. Perry, "Community Organization Within the Housing Estate," Proceedings (1935), p. 663.

15. Jean Coman, "What Does the Group Work Process Have to Contribute to a Housing Program?" Proceedings (1941), p. 541.

the recreational facilities and leisure-time resources of the projects. Other agencies would contribute by coming into the development and organizing groups for worthwhile activities.

Negroes and Housing

In discussing the housing problems of minority groups, Dr. Robert C. Weaver[16] pointed to the danger that public housing, by designating projects as white, or Negro, or Mexican might be making more difficult the ultimate solution of our racial problems. Working with the existing patterns of racial segregation in urban areas, the housing authorities were faced with the job of locating projects and making them available for the people who were actually displaced. Conflicts generally rose when site location was used to change the racial character of the neighborhoodas, for example, the clearing of a site long used by Negro families and the building on it of a project for white occupancy. He said that in many instances where there were no laws requiring racial separation, the authorities were loathe to mix the races in the same project for fear that social disturbances would follow. While there had been some instances of violent

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16. Dr. Robert C. Weaver, "Racial Minorities and Public Housing," Proceedings (1940), p. 209.

objections being raised to Negroes in predominantly white projects, the felt that those manifestations of intolerance could be avoided by good management practices and the taking of a firm stand by the authority when its policy had once been established.

Miss Leora Conner[17] called the attention of the Conference to the fact that while the Federal Government had made some progress in providing better housing for Negroes in the South, the old story of overcrowded and dilapidated two-and-three-room houses or apartments on unimproved streets continues to exist in many areas. Continuing the same discussion, Mrs. Faith Jones[18] discussed the roots of overcrowding of Negro families in the existence and spread of restrictive covenants that keep the Negroes from moving out into other areas as their members and economic abilities increase.

Housing and Housing Reform

One of the obstacles to housing reform in the United States was identified by Herbert Simpson[19] as the general

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17. Miss Leora Conner, "The Effects on Case Work Services of Social Factors in the Negro's Life," Proceedings (1942), p. 462.

18. Mrs. Faith Jefferson Jones, ibid., Proceedings (1942), p. 466.

19. Herbert D. Simpson, "Taxation and Its Implication for Social Work," Proceedings (1934), p. 58.

property tax. He showed that seventy-five to eighty percent of our state and local taxes are still derived from the general property tax and the inflexibility of our present tax structure makes the home owner liable for the same amount of taxes in periods of inflation as well as during periods of deflation and depression.

A description of British experience in housing reform is summed up in the following quotation from a paper read by Sir Francis Floyd High to the Conference in Montreal in 1935.[20]

> There has been a great housing problem in England since the War. The War produced large movements of the population from one part of the country to the other. Since all efforts were put on production for the war effort, there was little or nothing done in housing. Therefore, after the war, there was a great shortage of houses for the working classes in various areas of the country. Since enterprise was in a bad state, it was left to the national government to step in and help. For the actual administration they used the services of the local authorites and subsidies were given on varying scales by the states. However, the subsidies had to begin at high rates because money was dear and materials were very expensive. As time passed, it was possible to reduce subsidies quite a bit, and remove them altogether in the case of private building, so at present they are only subsidizing houses put up by the local authority. The outcome of these efforts was that two and a half million new homes have been built in Great Britain since the end of the War, just about equally divided between subsidized and non-subsidized housing. As a result about 25% of the total population has been rehoused since the war.

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20. Sir Francis Floyd High, "The Outlook for Economic and Social Security in Great Britain," Proceedings (1935), p. 50.

Two recommendations were made for housing reform in this country by Clark Warburton.[21] The first called for the establishment of a Federal Agency for experimentation on design and construction and the second urged negotiations with trade unions, building contractors and subdivision developers to find some way of organizing housing construction so as to provide full-time employment and a guaranteed annual wage in exchange for modification of practices which now prevent adoption of the most efficient methods of production.

B. Charney Vladeck[22] compared housing reform in this country with what had been done in Europe and found little, even in 1937, of which we could be proud. It was his opinion that our slums had become more extensive and more numerous at a time when England, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries were carrying out a long range program of housing the masses that did not strain either the credit of the government nor the resources of the taxpayer. He remarked that the trouble with our housing problem is not that some of our people are so poor, but that some of our rich people are so ignorant. We shall begin to make real progress in housing reform here only when we can convince ourselves that better

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21. Clark Warburton, "Increasing Consumer Demand," Proceedings (1936), p. 387.

22. Charney B. Vladeck, "The Housing Movement Today," Proceedings (1937), p. 573.

housing is not an expense but an investment.

Mr. Stanley Isaacs[23] reported on the new state law in New York which made money available to the local municipalities for construction of new housing and for loans to owners of low rent multiple-dwelling units. The act also provided for tax exemption for a maximum of sixty years on new construction and for coöperation with and acceptance of aid from the Federal Government.

In his last appearance before the Conference in the period covered by this survey John Ihlder[24] gave some answers to the question so often raised as to whether or not public housing can reach families with substandard incomes. He pointed out that one of the requirements of the United States Housing Act is that operating expenses shall be paid out of rent which amounts to a legal requirement that some rent be charged. He brought out that when the public projects were being occupied, social workers saw a good chance for their clients to live in decent housing at no increase in rent. So the social workers received their first disillusionment when the announcement came that in the first emergency public housing, subsidized on the cost of construction, the rents

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23. Stanley M. Isaacs, "New York Pioneers Again," Proceedings (1939), p. 253.

24. John Ihlder, "Housing for the Lowest Third," Proceedings (1939), p. 261.

would be higher than their clients would be allowed to pay. The second came when the announcement was made that under the permanent public housing program, relief clients would not be accepted in dwellings subsidized on the half rent basis. It was hard for social gencies to face this reality. Later, when wage-earning tenants with rent paying ability lost their jobs and went on relief, public housing was faced with a real problem. When relief agencies were unable to secure privately owned dwellings for their clients, and also unable to procure admission for them to public housing units, the clients began to build shack towns and public housing had to face the facts. Relief clients may now be accepted, but under the provisions that they be limited to a certain percentage of the project population.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

From a study of the programs of the National Conference of Social Work over the sixty-nine year period of its existence, it is evident that there is no long time program which is followed in choosing the important topics for consideration at each year's conference. Some degree of continuity has been achieved by the device adopted in comparatively recent years of having a continuing program committee to which the members are appointed for three year terms and only one-third of whom are replaced each year.

In selecting topics to be discussed at each year's meeting, it seems as if the Program Committee has attempted to keep the Conference membership informed on these aspects of social work which happened to be receiving the most attention in the rest of the country at the time. In its treatment of housing no attempt could be discerned to fit what came after to what had gone before. It is this unstudied characteristic of the treatment of continuing problems that gives rise to the value of the attempt that is made in this study to analyse the interest of the National Conference in the field of housing over the past sixty-seven years. It is possible that the same or a similar approach might be made by others interested in other branches of social work.

The most obvious result of the analysis of the discussions on housing presented to the Conference is a realization that the Conference provided a forum for full discussion over the years of housing and related problems. The quality of the discussions and the varied approaches to the subject make the Proceedings a valuable sourcebook for a study of the history of housing thought in this country no less than it is basic to the study of the development of social work.

A second conclusion is that the presentation of varying and often conflicting points of view must have had a salutary effect on stimulating discussions of housing both within the social work profession and by the public at large. Therein must lie one explanation of the fact that social workers in this country have long been and continue to be the strongest advocates of a realistic housing program.

As an organization which includes in its membership lay persons as well as professional workers, the Conference performed a service for the nation by providing an opportunity for frank comparison between what had been accomplished in this country and what other nations had done to provide better housing accommodations for the working classes. From the official and semi-official status of a large number of speakers, it is apparent that the Conference was used from

time to time as a national sounding board for new housing policies that were being crystallized and which needed public understanding and support for their successful prosecution.

A comparison between what was being discussed at the Conference and what was being accomplished in the attack on the housing problem indicates that in the early years, there was considerably more exhortation to action than a review of accomplishment. Since 1933, Conference speakers have been more concerned with descriptions of going programs rather than with a continuation of the earlier attempts at what might be called crusading for better housing. Any conclusion from this trend, however, must be tempered by the fact that since 1933, the whole field of social work has changed considerably and it was to be expected that some of those changes should be reflected in its treatment of subjects that were only on the fringes of the field, so to speak.

It is to be hoped that the complete absence of any mention of housing in the 1943 Proceedings, the last available, is not an indication of decreased interest on the part of the Conference, despair of successful handling of the problem, or satisfaction with the means currently adopted to solving our housing problem. Although much has been done in the last ten years, much more remains to be done.

APPENDIX A

Year	Place	Title of Address	Speaker
1885	Washington D. C.	30 Years Experience in Hospital Work	Dubois, Mary A.
1885	Washington D. C.	Compulsory Education in Relation to Crime and Social Morals	William, Harris, LL.
1885	Washington D. C.	Better Homes for Working-Men	White, Alfred
1888	Buffalo	(Discussion on Charity Organization)	Bemis, Dr. Edward
1890	Baltimore	Charity from the Stand-point of the Knights of Labor.	Schonfarber, James C
1891	Indianapolis	The Child Problem in Cities	Finley, John H.
1892	Denver	(Minutes of Discussion)	Kellogg, Mrs. Charle D.
1895	New Haven	The Permanent Improvement of Neighborhoods	Graffenreid, Claire
1895	New Haven	Sanitary Oversight of Dwellings	Moore, Marion
1895	New Haven	Improved Dwellings	Gould, Professor E.R
1895	New Haven	The Beauty of Service	Lincoln, Alice M.
1896	Grand Rapids	(Reports from States) (N. Y.)	Folks, Homer
1898	Grand Rapids	(Reports from States) (N. Y.)	Folks, Homer

Year	Place	Title of Address	Speaker
1899	Cincinnati	Municipal Responsibility in the Spread of Tuberculosis	Keene, Dr. Grace
1900	Topeka	Dwellings of the Poor in Smaller Cities	Williams, Emily
1900	Topeka	(Reports from States) (N. Y.)	
1901	Washington D. C.	(Report from States) (R. I.)	Gardner, Henry B.
1902	Detroit	In the Smaller Cities, Forestalling a Housing Problem	Gutridge, H. W.
1902	Detroit	What Shall We Do With the Consumptive Poor	Knopf, Dr. S. A.
1902	Detroit	Housing Reform in Chicago	Hunter, Robert
1902	Detroit	The Management of Tenement Houses	Bailey, Ellen H.
1902	Detroit	Housing Reform in Boston	Lincoln, Alice N.
1902	Detroit	(Discussion on Neighborhood Improvements)	Tucker, Frank
1903	Atlanta	Tenement House Problem in Cincinnati	Hubbard, C. M.
1904	Portland, Me.	(Reports from States) (Mass.)	Lee, Joseph
1904	Portland, Me.	(Discussion on Neighborhood Improvements)	Taylor, Graham
1904	Portland, Me.	(Minutes and Discussions)	Baxter, James P.
1905	Portland, Me.	The Open Air Treatment for Consumptives	Hutchinson, Woods
1905	Portland, Me.	(Minutes and Discussions)	

Year	Place	Title of Address	Speaker
1906	Philadelphia	The Educational Opportunity of the Visiting Nurse in the Prevention of Disease	Akers, Miss Charlotte
1906	Philadelphia	The Housing Conditions in Philadelphia	Octavia Hill Association
1907	Minneapolis	The Value of the Fresh Air Movement	Ingram, Mrs. H.
1908	Richmond	The Housing Problem and Its Relation to Other Reform Movements	Fulmer, Harriet
1909	Buffalo	Social Problems of the Smaller Cities	McLean, Frank
1909	Buffalo	The Neighborhood and the Municipality	Kellogg, Paul V.
1909	Buffalo	The Delinquent Children of Immigrant Parents	Bowen, Mrs. Joseph T.
1910	St. Louis	The Need for Recreation	Bowen, Mrs. Joseph T.
1910	St. Louis	The National Housing Association	Veiller, Laurence
1910	St. Louis	The Settlement Problem of a Changing Neighborhood	White, Gaylord S.
1911	Boston	What Bad Housing Means to the Community	Riis, Jacob
1911	Boston	How to Get Housing Reform	Fellows, Mrs. Albi
1911	Boston	How Social Workers Can Aid Housing Reforms	Richmond, Miss Mar
1911	Boston	(Reports from States) (Cal. Ky. Md.)	

Year	Place	Title of Address	Speaker
1912	Cleveland	Community Recognition of Childhood Rights and Needs	Kingsley, Sherman
1912	Cleveland	The Fight for Better Homes	Ihlder, John
1912	Cleveland	The Housing Problem in Industrial Communities	Todd, Robert E. T.
1912	Cleveland	Room Overcrowding	Marsh, Benjamin
1913	Seattle	Report of Special Immigration Survey of the Pacific Coast	Bampied, Charles M.
1913	Seattle	The Relation of Commercial Organizations to Social Welfare	Baldwin, Roger N.
1913	Seattle	The Need for Child Welfare Work in Rural Communities	Slingerland, Dr. W. H
1914	Memphis	The Family in the Community but not yet of the Community	Breckenridge, Sophronisba
1916	Indianapolis	Sources of Public Support for Social Programs	Purdy, Lawson
1917	Pittsburgh	The Bearing of Psychology in Social Case Work	Henley, Dr. William
1918	Kansas City	Housing, Its Relation to Social Work	Bacon, Mrs. Albion Fellows
1918	Kansas City	Conserving Development Increment for the Community	Purdy, Lawson
1919	Atlantic City	Bad Housing and Ill Health	Ford, Professor James
1919	Atlantic City	Housing Development as Post War Problem in Canada	Adams, Thomas A.

Year	Place	Title of Address	Speaker
1919	Atlantic City	The Social Community in the Light of the New Housing Ideals	Ihlder, John
1919	Atlantic City	Management of Wage Earner's Dwellings	Field, Fred C.
1919	Atlantic City	War Activities as They Have Affected Housing Health and Recreation	White, Mrs. Eva
1919	Atlantic City	The Work of a State Immigration Committee	Bell, George L.
1920	New Orleans	Principles to be Employed by Child Caring Organization in First Contact With Cases	William, C. V.
1920	New Orleans	The Church and Community Program	Grosly, R. S.
1921	Milwaukee	Lessons Learned from Government Experience in Housing	Harlean, James
1921	Milwaukee	Effects of the Housing Shortage in the United States	Ihlder, John
1922	Providence	The Housing Situation	Ihlder, John
1922	Providence	The Family as a Factor in Social Evolution	Todd, Arthur J.
1923	Washington D. C.	Strengthening of Family Life	DeSchweinitz, Karl
1923	Washington D. C.	The Human Side of Housing	Marquette, Bleecke
1923	Washington D. C.	Must Working People Live in Frayed-Out Houses?	Wood, Dr. Edith Elm
1924	Toronto	Negro Migration, Its Effects on Family and Community Life in the North	Haynes, George H.

Year	Place	Title of Address	Speaker
1925	Denver	Philadelphia as a Provider for Dependent Children	Deardoff, Neva
1926	Cleveland	How Much Social Work Can a Community Afford?	Purdy, Lawson
1926	Cleveland	The Place of Social Work in Public Health	Hopkins, Harry L.
1926	Cleveland	What Zoning is Doing to Improve Housing Conditions	Hartman, Edward T.
1926	Cleveland	Family Life of the Negro in the Small Town	Frazier, E. Franklin
1927	Des Moines	Developing Standards of Rural Child Welfare	Abbott, Grace
1928	Memphis	Is the Low Cost House a Myth?	Wright, Henry
1928	Memphis	Is the Low Cost House a Myth?	Ihlder, John
1928	Memphis	Is the Movement for Better Housing Making Progress in America?	Newman, Bernard
1928	Memphis	Organizing the Community for City Planning	Ihlder, John
1928	Memphis	The Effect of Changing Economic Conditions Upon the Living Standards of Negroes	Thomas, Jesse O.
1929	San Francisco	The Negro in Community Life	Jones, E. K.
1930	Boston	Creating a Community as a Real Estate Operation	Brownlow, Louis

Year	Place	Title of Address	Speaker
1930	Boston	Housing as a Factor in Social Development	Ihlder, John
1933	Detroit	Can the City be Adapted to the New Leisure?	Perry, Clarence Arthur
1933	Detroit	Social Aspects of Large-Scale Housing	Biddle, William W.
1934	Kansas City	Taxation and Its Implication for Social Work	Simpson, Herbert
1934	Kansas City	Social Planning for the Future	Hopkins, Harry L.
1935	Montreal	The Outlook for Economic and Social Security	High, Sir Francis
1935	Montreal	Social Case Work in a National Program of Social Security	Kurtz, Russell
1935	Montreal	Who is to Operate P. W. A. Housing?	Voell, Richard F
1935	Montreal	Community Organizations Within the Housing Estate	Perry, Clarence Arthur
1936	Atlantic City	Increasing Consumer Demand	Warburton, Clark
1936	Atlantic City	Health and New Housing	Lumsden, May
1936	Atlantic City	Health Benefits to be Expected from Better Housing	Emerson, Haven
1937	Indianapolis	Effect of the Flood (Louisville, Ky.) on the Municipal, Social and Welfare Program	Miller, Neville

Year	Place	Title of Address	Speaker
1937	Indianapolis	The Housing Movement Today	Vladeck, B. Charney
1938	Seattle	Social Case Work Practice in Rural Communities	Twente, Esther E.
1939	Buffalo	New York Pioneers Again	Isaacs, Stanley M
1939	Buffalo	Housing the Lowest Third	Ihlder, John
1940	Grand Rapids	Racial Minorities and Public Housing	Weaver, Dr. Rober C.
1941	Atlantic City	National Defense and the Health and Welfare Services	Daniels, Jonathan
1941	Atlantic City	Better Housing as a Health Resource	Leukhardt, John C
1941	Atlantic City	What Does the Group Work Process have to Contribute to a Housing Program	Coman, Jean
1941	Atlantic City	Medical Care Experience of the Farm Security Administration in California	Schnapp, Karl
1942	New Orleans	Attacking on Social Work's Three Fronts	Harrison, Shelby
1942	New Orleans	The South's Human Resources	Johnson, Charles
1942	New Orleans	Imports of the War Upon the Social Sources	Howard, Donald S.
1942	New Orleans	The Effects of Case Work Services on Rural Factors in the Negro's Life	Conner, Leora L.
1942	New Orleans	From the Point of View of Economic Factors	Jones, Faith Jefferson

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